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ABSTRACT

The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) is designed to measure masculinity and femininity independently. It is based on the dualistic, as opposed to the bipolar, nature of masculinity and femininity. The development of measures for sex role research has relied on empirical techniques; item selection has been based on respondents' stereotyped conceptions of men and women. This study assessed the extent to which the BSRI traits (representing masculinity, femininity, and a third neutral domain) are actually organized around conceptions of masculinity and femininity. Multidimensional scaling (MDS) was used to identify the perceptual-cognitive structures of sex-typed attributes. Assumptions that the BSRI items are clustered in accordance with conceptions of masculinity and femininity appear unwarranted. Far from being orthogonal, as assumed by the BSRI, the separate "masculinity" and "femininity" dimensions are substantially correlated. Differences observed among the perceptual-cognitive structures of females and males is damaging to the BSRI's validity, as the instrument's identical use (i.e., administration and scoring) with female and male respondents implies highly similar cognitive organization of items for both sexes. It appears that the widespread, uncritical acceptance of the BSRI may well have been premature. (PN)

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PERCEPTUAL-COGNITIVE STRUCTURE OF SEX-TYPED TRAITS: MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCALING OF THE BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY

by

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Perceptual-Cognitive Structure of Sex-Typed Traits: Multidimensional Scaling of the Bem Sex Role Inventory

Ellen Koenigsberg

Traditional conceptions of masculinity and femininity as opposite poles of a single dimension constrain the constructs to be mutually exclusive, so that high femininity signifies low masculinity, and vice versa. Recognition of serious problems with this approach to the measurement of masculinity and femininity (e.g., Constantinople, 1973) led to a reformulation of the concepts whereby the dualistic, as opposed to the bipolar, nature of masculinity and femininity currently prevails among sex role researchers. This emphasis is reflected in the format of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974) as well as those of a number of other recently constructed sex role instruments (e.g., Adjective Check List; Heilbrun, 1976; Personal Attributes Questionnaire; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1974; PRF ANDRO Scale; Berzins, Welling, & Wetter, 1978) designed to measure masculinity and femininity independently.

The development of such sex role measures has, for the most part, proceeded atheoretically, relying almost exclusively on empirical techniques (Beere, 1979). Item selection has characteristically been based on respondents' stereotyped conceptions of men and women. Unfortunately, the common approach taken to the assessment of sex stereotypes, that of having individuals

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attribute traits or behaviors to the typical or ideal man or woman, leaves much to be desired, as the very nature of the methodology "may force the subject into thinking in terms of generalizations and categories" (Brigham, 1971, p. 24). Evidently, researchers are still working under the influence of the Katz and Braly (1933) stereotype research paradigm despite its serious shortcomings (see Brigham, 1971; see, also Cowan & Stewart, 1977, for an empirical comparison of different types of sex stereotype instruments). If, however, the study of sex stereotypes is placed within the broader context of person perception, in particular, the implicit personality theory (see Schneider, 1973) framework, less constraining methodology becomes available. In addition, such placement allows sex stereotypes to be integrated into the mainstream of basic psychological research and theory rather than be treated as bizarre psychological structures (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1979). It is believed that awareness of the perceptual-cognitive structures underlying the clustering of sex-typed traits and the relations of these structures to a more general implicit personality theory would greatly enhance understanding of the properties of the new sex role measures.

The BSRI has been the most frequently used of the recent sex role instruments (Beere, 1979), and is, in many respects, representative of this group of measures. For these reasons, in an effort to maximize the relevance of the present investigation's findings to the current state of sex role research, the items of the BSRI, with the exception of "masculine" and "feminine," which were omitted because of serious psychometric

problems associated with these items (see Bem, 1981) and because of concern that they might serve as anchors in the perception of the other attributes, constituted the set of sex-typed traits studied. The BSRI consists of three scales--Masculinity, Femininity, and Social Desirability--each composed of 20 items selected from a large pool of what Bem (1974) considered positively valued personality characteristics. Item selection was guided by the ratings of college student judges who evaluated each characteristic on the basis of its desirability for a man or for a woman in American society. Of the characteristics rated significantly more desirable for a man than for a woman, 20 were selected to form the Masculinity scale, while 20 of the characteristics rated more desirable for a woman than for a man were selected to form the Femininity scale. The Social Desirability scale consists of items which Bem (1974) originally classified as neutral because their mean desirability ratings for a man and for a woman did not differ significantly. However, many of these items are considered sex-typed by other researchers (on the basis of research conducted by Walkup & Abbott, 1978, Bem, 1981, herself, has recently questioned the neutrality of approximately half of the Social Desirability items), just as many of the BSRI's Masculinity and Femininity scale items are classified as neutral by other investigators (see Pedhazur & Tetenbaum, 1979). One of the interests of the present study, therefore, was to assess the extent to which the BSRI traits, presumed by Bem and the many others who have worked with the instrument to represent at least two distinct domains--

masculinity and femininity--and possibly a third neutral domain, are actually organized in accordance with conceptions of masculinity and femininity.

Method

Because the investigation of individuals' implicit personality theories, or organized sets of assumptions regarding the way in which human traits are interrelated, requires a methodological approach that places minimum constraints on respondents and is capable of uncovering the dimensions that underlie their responses, multidimensional scaling (MDS), which fulfills these requirements, was used in the present study to identify the perceptual-cognitive structures of sex-typed attributes. Although MDS and factor analysis are similar in that both techniques are designed to uncover fundamental dimensions underlying complex data matrices and employ comparable mathematical theorems to accomplish this goal, the basic data appropriate to each and the type of output generated by the two techniques are different in several important respects which recommend the use of MDS over factor analysis in the investigation of perceptual-cognitive structures. Furthermore, the individual differences MDS model (INDSCAL; Carrol & Chang, 1970) implemented in the present study, which provides a frame of reference common to a group of people (represented by a group space), and, simultaneously, accommodates variations among individuals (by producing a subject space that presents the salience of the dimensions for each individual), results in uniquely oriented (unrotatable) dimensions. "These uniquely determined coordinate axes will correspond to meaningful

psychological dimensions in a very strong sense (as postulated, they correspond to fundamental sensory, perceptual, or judgmental processes . . .)" (Carroll & Chang, 1970, p. 285). Empirically, most applications of the model have resulted in directly interpretable dimensions (Carroll & Wish, 1974).

Attribute Categorization Task

The application of MDS to the study of the perceptual-cognitive structure of sex-typed attributes requires a measure of the attributes' relatedness, as perceived by respondents. The size of the stimulus set in the present investigation (58 attributes) rendered the usual method of collecting such data--pairwise comparisons--infeasible. Instead, participants were asked to sort the attributes into as many categories as they wished according to how they thought the characteristics "go together" in women (treatment group 1), or men (group 2), or people (group 3). The sorting task was performed by 60 female and 60 male graduate students, randomly assigned in equal numbers to the three referent conditions.

Although it may be inferred, on the basis of sorting results, that respondents consider stimuli sorted into the same category more closely related than stimuli placed in different categories, simply scoring the relatedness between a pair of stimuli dichotomously, i.e., "high" if they were placed into the same category, and "low" if they were sorted into different categories, ignores additional information implied by subjects' individual patterns of partitioning (e.g., the total number of categories used by different sorters).

Accordingly, a variety of measures have been proposed to capture finer gradations of similarity (see, e.g., Boorman & Arabie, 1972; Burton, 1975). The squared profile distance, or δ (delta; Cronbach & Gleser, 1953), is one such measure that has been used frequently as an index of dissimilarity in MDS analyses (e.g., Rosenberg, Nelson, & Vivekananthan, 1968; Schmidt, 1972) with good empirical results (see, e.g., Rosenberg & Jones, 1972; Wish, 1972). The present study utilized a delta transformation, but unlike the studies cited above, in which δ was calculated after aggregating information across all participants, each individual's stimulus matrix of 1's (for stimuli placed in the same category) and 0's (for stimuli placed in different categories) was treated separately, so that individual differences were retained for analysis by an appropriate MDS technique (cf. Rao & Katz, 1971).

Attribute Rating Scales

The 229 females and 134 males who responded to the Attribute Rating Scales were drawn from the same subject pool as the participants who sorted the attributes. Each individual in the attribute rating task was given a list of the 58 sex-typed attributes in one of two different random orders and asked to rate each of the traits on one of eight bipolar adjective pairs, using a 7-point scale. Thus, for example, instructions to respondents who rated the traits on a Masculine-Feminine scale read as follows:

> We would like you to rate each of the characteristics listed below according to whether you would consider a person who possesses the characteristic to be

MASCULINE or FEMININE. In making your ratings use the following scale:

MASCULINE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 FEMININE

The respondents were divided into eight groups so that each participant rated the attributes on only one adjective pair scale. The eight scales were: (1) Good-Bad, (2) Soft-Hard, (3) Weak-Strong, (4) Passive-Active, (5) Immature-Mature, (6) Not Masculine-Masculine, (7) Not Feminine-Feminine, and (8) Masculine-Feminine.

In an attempt to supplement intuitive interpretations of the dimensions, mean ratings of the attributes on each scale were used separately as the dependent variable in a linear multiple regression analysis where the independent variables were the stimulus coordinates of a particular solution. The multiple correlation coefficient resulting from this property fitting approach indicates how well the stimulus coordinates, obtained via MDS, agree with or explain the ratings of the stimuli. In addition, linear multiple regression geometrically orients a line through the configuration so that, in an analysis where a specific rating scale is the dependent variable, the observation of a large regression weight of a dimension, corresponding to a large direction cosine, indicates a small angle between the dimension and the direction of the scale's regression line, thereby supporting interpretation of the dimension as equivalent to the continuum represented by that rating scale. To insure that rating scales are valid descriptors of a multidimensional space and may therefore be used to define its dimensions as described above, it is recommended that the multiple

correlation between an individual scale and the coordinates of the space be greater than .90 (Kruskal & Wish, 1978; cf. Kessler, 1978).

Results and Discussion

Perceptual-Cognitive Structures

The sorting data were subjected to six separate MDS analyses corresponding to the six cross-classifications of the three referent conditions (woman, man, person) by sex of perceiver, and solutions were obtained in four, three, two, and one dimensions. For each of the groups, the two-dimensional solution was deemed most appropriate. The natures of the two dimensions in each solution were inferred by contrasting stimuli with projections at opposite extremes of the dimensions. As may be seen in Table 1, which presents a summary of the six groups' two-dimensional configurations, there are important similarities among the solutions in addition to their common dimensionality.

In the case of the female perceivers' solutions, for example, the more salient dimension in each configuration contrasts an expressiveness domain (characterized by attributes such as AFFECTIONATE, GENTLE, SYMPATHETIC) with one of instrumentality (represented by attributes such as ACTS AS A LEADER, SELF-RELIANT, STRONG PERSONALITY). This dimension is named Expressiveness-Instrumentality.

The nature of the second dimension differs among the three female solutions. In the woman referent solution, Dimension 2 reflects a contrast between attributes sharing a compliant quality (e.g., SOFT SPOKEN, YIELDING, CONVENTIONAL) with

attributes suggesting power and effectiveness (e.g., ASSERTIVE, FORCEFUL, INDEPENDENT), and is named, accordingly, Submissiveness-Potency. Because the second dimension in the man referent solution is unipolar and the attributes with high loadings are, for the most part, identical to those which emerged at the positive (Potency) extreme of Dimension 2 in the woman referent solution, Dimension 2 in the man referent solution is named Potency. Dimension 2 in the female perceivers' person referent solution does not represent the potency concerns evidenced by the second dimensions of their woman and man referent solutions. Although the traits that emerge at the negative extreme of this dimension do include power-oriented attributes (e.g., AGGRESSIVE, AMBITIOUS, FORCEFUL), also included are attributes of quite a different nature (e.g., FLATTERABLE, GULLIBLE, JEALOUS). Since all of the traits may be considered manifestations of excessive self-concern and the traits that emerge at the positive extreme of the dimension (e.g., COMPASSIONATE, SENSITIVE TO THE NEEDS OF OTHERS, TACTFUL) suggest an empathic concern for others, Dimension 2 in the person referent solution is named Self-Involvement-Social Responsiveness. It should be noted that while female respondents in each referent condition, as a group, place more importance on the first dimension (Expressiveness-Instrumentality) than on the second, individual salience weights indicate considerable intragroup variability in the use of the dimensions.

The female perceivers' perceptual-cognitive structures are also similar in that the Expressiveness-Instrumentality dimension in each solution is substantially correlated with the second

dimension (r = .54, .68, -.50 in the woman, man, and person referent solutions, respectively).

The two-dimensional solution for females in the woman referent condition accounts for 40% of the variance in their sorting data while that for females in the man referent condition accounts for 43% of the variance. In comparison, the percentage of variance accounted for by the two-dimensional solution for females in the person referent condition is considerably lower (only 31%).

Like those of the females, the male perceivers' perceptual-cognitive structures for woman, man, and person referents share several important characteristics in addition to being two-dimensional. (Figure 1 depicts the male perceivers' man referent configuration as an example of the visual representation of underlying structures generated by MDS analysis.) For one, an Expressiveness-Instrumentality dimension is found in all of the male solutions. Also, the two dimensions in each of the male solutions are meaningfully correlated. The correlation between the dimensions of the person referent solution (-.67) is the most substantial, that between the woman referent solution dimensions (.61) is somewhat lower, while the correlation between the dimensions of the man referent solution (.30) is the lowest correlation observed between the two dimensions in any of the six groups' solutions.

On a group basis, the Expressiveness-Instrumentality dimension is the more salient of the dimensions in two of the three male solutions, although, as in the female solutions, a variety

of individual weighting patterns were observed. The Expressiveness-Instrumentality dimension is of secondary rather than primary importance only in the male perceivers' woman referent solution. The first dimension to emerge in this solution is named Submissiveness-Potency, indicating that it is considered equivalent to Dimension 2 in the female perceivers' woman referent solution.

While the Expressiveness-Instrumentality dimension is the more salient dimension in the male perceivers' man referent and person referent solutions, the nature of the second dimensions in these solutions differs. Dimension 2 in the man referent solution contrasts a group of attributes at the negative pole that share a quality of immature weakness (e.g., AGGRESSIVE, CHILDLIKE, JEALOUS) with attributes suggesting a strength associated with maturity (e.g., ASSERTIVE, INDEPENDENT, RELIABLE) at the positive pole. Accordingly, the dimension is named Immature Weakness-Mature Vigor. The second dimension in the male perceivers' person referent solution appears equivalent to the second dimension in the female perceivers' person referent solution and is given the same name--Self-Involvement-Social Responsiveness.

More variance (47%) is accounted for by the two-dimensional solution for males in the woman referent condition than any of the other solutions. The two-dimensional solutions for males in the man referent and person referent conditions account for 40% and 43% of the variance, respectively.

On the basis of the foregoing, it is clear that despite

important similarities among the groups' solutions, meaningful differences do exist. Consistent with the concept of implicit personality theory, respondents seemed to readily accept the notion of traits clustering in groups and evidenced no difficulty in sorting traits on the basis of how they "go together" in people (or women, or men). Furthermore, sufficient commonality in the results of the sorting procedure existed among the members of each group to allow meaningful structures accounting for sizable proportions of variance to be recovered. That the nature of these structures varied with both the sex of the perceiver and that of the referent, serves to reinforce the preference expressed by several investigators (e.g., Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964) for the term "implicit personality theories" rather than the singular "implicit personality theory" to describe the intuitive notions people have about the co-occurrence of traits in others.

Implications for the Bem Sex Role Inventory

The results of regressing the Attribute Rating Scales on the coordinates of the different solutions were disappointing in that only one of the 48 multiple correlations met the .90 criterion discussed earlier. For this reason, only the results of analyses with particular relevance for the validity of the BSRI, i.e., those utilizing the Not Feminine-Feminine, Not Masculine-Masculine, and Masculine-Feminine scales, are reported here (see Table 2). Because there were numerous meaningful differences between female and male mean ratings on the Attribute Rating Scales, separate multiple regression analyses were performed for females and males whereby female ratings were related

to dimensions of female perceivers' solutions and male ratings were related to dimensions of male perceivers' solutions. Therefore, differences between direction cosine patterns for female and male solutions observed in Table 2 reflect differences between female and male ratings as well as differences between female and male perceptual-cognitive structures.

The multiple correlation coefficients between the three scales and the six MDS configurations shown in Table 2, ranging from .697 to .864, indicate that, according to prevailing guidelines, the scales are not very good descriptors of the MDS spaces and therefore cannot be used confidently to define dimensions. Not only does this immediately raise questions about the BSRI's assumptions, but, if the multiple correlation coefficient criterion is relaxed, so that the scales are, at least for the sake of argument, accepted as valid descriptors of the solutions, and the patterns of direction cosines studied, additional problems become apparent.

For example, the direction cosines reported in Table 2 between the Masculine-Feminine scale and the first dimensions of the male perceivers' woman and person referent solutions (-1.000 and -.999) would lead to the inference that these dimensions were bipolar masculinity-femininity continua. If this were the only evidence supporting such an interpretation the possibility that these observations were artifacts resulting from the constraints imposed by fitting a bipolar Masculine-Feminine scale would have to be considered. In the case of both configurations, however, the observations of extremely large negative direction

cosines with the Not Feminine-Feminine scale (-.984 in the woman referent solution and -.998 in the person referent solution) and almost as large positive direction cosines with the Not Masculine-Masculine scale (.968 and .947 in the woman and person referent solutions, respectively) provide convergent evidence corroborating the masculinity-femininity identification. While these results are consonant with those of other investigators who have found support for a bipolar conceptualization of masculinity-femininity (e.g., Foushee, Helmreich, & Spence, 1979), they are incompatible with one of the basic premises of the BSRI.

The pattern of direction cosines of the scales with the female solutions appears to be more congruent with the BSRI's assumption of separate dimensions of masculinity and femininity. Inspection of Table 2 reveals that the females, as opposed to the males, in this study conceive of masculinity-femininity as two-dimensional. The first and second dimensions of the female perceivers' woman and man referent solutions appear to represent separate femininity and masculinity concerns, respectively. These concerns also seem to be individually manifested by the opposite dimensions in the person referent solution, although the situation is not as clear-cut in this case as the direction cosine of the bipolar Masculine-Feminine scale with Dimension 1 (-.927) in the person referent solution is much greater than in the other two female solutions.

It should be remembered that the foregoing speculations were, in a sense, merely an exercise, as they were based on a relaxation of the multiple correlation criterion designed to

fabricate the premise that the scales are valid descriptors of the MDS solutions so that, for the sake of argument, the direction cosines could be used for dimension interpretation. However, even if, within this frame of reference, it is granted that the three female solutions provide evidence for separate masculinity and femininity dimensions, the substantial correlations between the two dimensions in all of these solutions (.54, .68, and -.50 in the woman, man, and person referent solutions, respectively), belie the BSRI's assumption of unrelated masculinity and femininity domains. In this regard, it should be noted that although negligible correlations have generally been reported between the Masculinity and Femininity scales of the BSRI (see Beere, 1979, for references), it has been suggested that these empirical results are an artifact produced by Bem's (1974) "unorthodox scale construction methods" (Jackson & Paunonen, 1980, p. 539).

Further problems with the assumptions of the BSRI became apparent when the patterns of trait projections on the dimensions that, according to the above speculations, may be construed as "femininity" and "masculinity," i.e., Dimensions 1 and 2 in the female perceivers' woman and man referents solutions, were studied. Inspection of the attributes' loadings on these dimensions revealed that the perceptual-cognitive organization of a number of the traits is not congruent with their BSRI classification. For example, seven of the BSRI Femininity scale traits (CHILDLIKE, DOES NOT USE HARSH LANGUAGE, FLATTERABLE, GULLIBLE, SHY, SOFT SPOKEN, YIELDING) fail to exhibit extreme projections (equal to or exceeding one standard deviation from the origin)

on Dimension 1 (the "femininity" dimension) in both solutions, and an additional two traits (CHEERFUL, LOYAL) do not exhibit extreme projections on this dimension in the man referent solution. With regard to Dimension 2, the "masculinity" dimension, four of the BSRI Masculinity scale traits (AGGRESSIVE, COMPETITIVE, DOMINANT, MAKES DECISIONS EASILY) fail to load in the woman referent solution and ATHLETIC fails to load in the man referent solution. Interestingly, with the exception of AGGRESSIVE and DOMINANT, the traits named above are not included in the new Short BSRI (Bem, 1981), a 30 item (10 masculinity items, 10 femininity items, 10 filler items) version of the original scale, modified, in accordance with factor analytic evidence and item-total correlations, to maximize the internal consistency and the orthogonality of the Femininity and Masculinity scales. While the Short BSRI does appear to be more internally consistent than the Original, one must question the extent to which the elimination of half of the Femininity and Masculinity items has constricted the sampling of the domains represented by the scales. In addition, if, as Bem (1981) claims, the Short BSRI "constitutes a refinement of the Original BSRI" (p. 12), the fact that she does not reject the longer form, but, instead, only suggests that the Short BSRI be used when time is limited, is puzzling. Similar confusion over the relative merits of the two forms is manifested by researchers who use both the long and short forms in the same investigation and study the relations of both with a variety of other variables (e.g., Harrington & Andersen, 1981).

In sum, the perceptual-cognitive structures recovered in

this study raise serious questions about the premises underlying the BSRI. For one, the fundamental assumption that the BSRI items are clustered primarily in accordance with conceptions of masculinity and femininity appears unwarranted. Furthermore, even if, as in the preceding discussion, one accepts the dubious premise that dimensions reflecting masculinity and femininity concerns can be identified, these appear to have a bipolar rather than a dualistic nature in at least two of the male perceivers' structures. Whereas, with the same reservations, separate "masculinity" and "femininity" dimensions can be identified in the female perceivers' structures, far from being orthogonal, as assumed by the BSRI, these are substantially correlated, and, in addition, a number of the Masculinity and Femininity traits do not load appropriately on these dimensions. The very fact that differences were observed among the perceptual-cognitive structures of females and males is damaging to the BSRI's validity as the instrument's identical use (i.e., administration and scoring) with female and male respondents implies the assumption of highly similar cognitive organizations of the items for both sexes. It appears that the widespread, uncritical acceptance of the BSRI may well have been premature.

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Table 1

Female and Male Perceivers' Perceptual-Cognitive Structures of Sex-Typed Attributes for Different Referents

	Woman referent	Man referent	Person referent
Female perceivers	1. Expressiveness-Instrumentality (.376) 2. Submissiveness-Potency (.290) $\underline{r}$ = .539	1. Expressiveness-Instrumentality (.338) 2. Potency (.324) $\underline{r}$ = .681	1. Expressiveness-Instrumentality (.348) 2. Self-Involvement-Social Responsiveness (.246) $\underline{r}$ = -.497
Male perceivers	1. Submissiveness-Potency (.411) 2. Expressiveness-Instrumentality (.306) $\underline{r}$ = .614	1. Expressiveness-Instrumentality (.491) 2. Immature Weakness-Mature Vigor (.[illegible]0) $\underline{r}$ = .301	1. Expressiveness-Instrumentality (.386) 2. Self Involvement-Social Responsiveness (.305) $\underline{r}$ = -.673

Note. The mean salience weight for each dimension appears in parentheses following the dimension name.

Table 2

Multiple Regression of Not Feminine-Feminine, Not Masculine-Masculine, and Masculine-Feminine Scales on Female and Male Perceivers' Perceptual-Cognitive Structures

Scale	Female perceivers			Male perceivers		
	Multiple correlation	Normalized regression weights (Direction cosines) Dim. 1	Dim. 2	Multiple correlation	Normalized regression weights (Direction cosines) Dim. 1	Dim. 2
Woman referent						
Not Feminine-Feminine	.699	-.979	.203	.710	-.984	-.179
Not Masculine-Masculine	.852	.062	.998	.821	.968	-.252
Masculine-Feminine	.806	-.650	-.760	.864	-1.000	-.017
Man referent						
Not Feminine-Feminine	.753	-.975	.225	.697	-.928	-.373
Not Masculine-Masculine	.833	.082	.997	.776	.652	.759
Masculine-Feminine	.828	-.630	-.778	.852	-.851	-.526
Person referent						
Not Feminine-Feminine	.761	-.217	.976	.712	-.998	.059
Not Masculine-Masculine	.709	1.000	-.020	.794	.947	.321
Masculine-Feminine	.790	-.927	.376	.849	-.999	-.041

Note. The name of each rating scale indicates the positions of the (1) and (7) anchors. For example, Not Feminine = 1, Feminine = 7. All multiple correlations are significant beyond the .001 level.

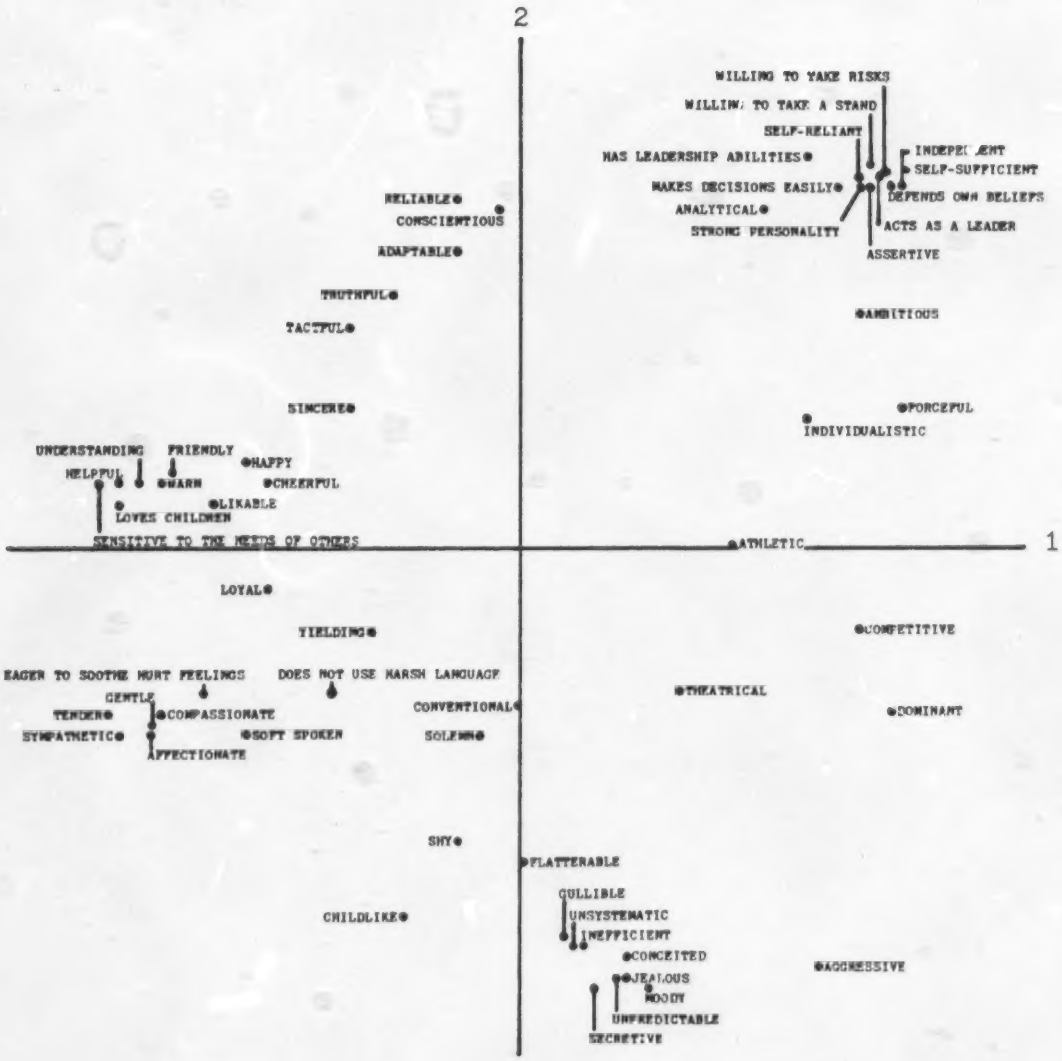

Figure 1

Male Perceivers' Perceptual-Cognitive Structure of Sex-Typed Attributes for a Man Referent